

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 139286

NODIS
FOR AMB YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAR ES SALAAM 2339 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 01
JUN 78

QUOTE S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 2339

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO EMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE FOR
AMBASSADOR SPAIN AND TO OTHER ADDRESSEES AS APPROPRIATE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PERPR, TZ, US, FR
SUBJECT: NYERERE EXPRESSES HIS ALARM ABOUT EUROPEAN-AFRICAN
SECURITY TALKS

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2317

1. SUMMARY: NYERERE SAYS HE IS ALARMED BY NOTION OF EUROPEAN-
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AFRICAN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT SECURITY PROBLEMS IN AFRICA, EVEN MORE
SO WHEN THEY ARE HELD IN PARIS. HE HINTS THAT JULY OAU SUMMIT
IN KHARTOUM WOULD BE BETTER VENUE, IF SUCH DISCUSSIONS SHOULD
OCCUR AT ALL. HE SAYS USG "KNOWS VERY WELL" NON-GREAT PTWER
CHARACTER OF ANGOLA-ZAIRE CONFLICTS, AND HE IS BOTH ALARMED AND
SADDENED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER IS "LETTING FRANCE LEAD YOU AGAIN
INTO OTHER VIETNAMS". A NYERERE TO CARTER LETTER ON THESE SUBJECTS

PROBABLY WILL BE FORTHCOMING TOMORROW. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT NYERERE 31 MAY ASKED AMERICAN CHARGE TO COME TO ARUSHA ON ONE DAY'S NOTICE TO DISCUSS UNSPECIFIED SUBJECT. ONLY OTHERS AT OUR MEETING TODAY WERE FOREIGN MINISTRY PRINCIPAL SECRETARY NYAKYI (THE MINISTRY'S MOST SENIOR OFFICIAL CURRENTLY IN THE COUNTRY) AND PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECRETARY JOAN WICKEN (WHO USUALLY HELPS NYERERE DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL LETTERS). BOTH WERE SUMMONED FROM DAR TO ARUSHA TODAY FOR THE MEETING. TANGOV CHARTERED AIRCRAFT FLEW THE THREE OF US UP AND MILITARY AIRCRAFT BROUGHT NYAKYI AND ME BACK. WICKEN STAYED TO DRAFT, SHE BELIEVES, NYERERE TO PRESIDENT CARTER LETTER ON SUBJECTS OF TODAY'S MEETING.

3. NYERERE OPENED BY SAYING HE HAD HEARD INTERNATIONAL RADIO REPORTS ABOUT A MEETING IN PARIS NEXT WEEK CONCERNING AFRICA, AND ASKED IF I COULD TELL HIM ANYTHING ABOUT IT. I LIMITED MY REPLY TO CONTENTS OF STATE 138346 -- THAT MEETING WAS PRIMARILY A PRELUDE TO FULLER DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC NEEDS OF ZAIRE THAT WOULD OCCUR IN BRUSSELS THE FOLLOWING WEEK, THAT IDEA OF AN AFRICAN FORCE STATIONED IN SHABA MIGHT ARISE AND BE DISCUSSED BUT THAT CONCEPT OF AN INTER-AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE TO MEET SOME AFRICAN STATES' MORE GENERAL SECURITY CONCERNS IS NOT ON AGENDA. I THEN HANDED NYERERE COPY OF EXCERPTS THAT DEALT WITH AFRICA FROM SECRETARY VANCE'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON WASHINGTON NATO MEETING (STATE 137729).

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4. NYERERE SAID NOTION OF EUROPEAN-AFRICAN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT GENERAL SECURITY PROBLEMS IN AFRICA WAS WHAT HE HAD HEARD ON RADIO, "AND THIS ALARMS ME". THEREFORE, HE WANTED USG TO "KNOW MY FEARS" WHETHER TOPIC DISCUSSED NEXT WEEK IN PARIS OR NOT. "IT MIGHT WELL BE DISCUSSED LATER."

5. NYERERE SAID HIS ALARM "STEMS FROM THE WAY THIS ISSUE HAS ARISEN -- BECAUSE OF KOLWEZI AND THE INTERPRETATION THE WEST IS GIVING THESE EVENTS IN TERMS OF SOVIET/CUBA PENETRATION". RAISING HIS VOICE AND HIS EYEBROWS, NYERERE SAID, "THE US KNOWS VERY WELL WHAT IS REALLY TAKING PLACE IN KOLWEZI." HE THEN WENT INTO A SHORT HISTORY OF TRIBAL CONFLICTS WITHIN KATANGA AREA AND THOSE WITHIN ANGOLA, AND HOW THEY HAVE AFFECTED ANGOLA-ZAIRE RELATIONS. "THE US KNOWS FULLY ABOUT THE RETALIATION ASPECT OF ANGOLA COMPLICITY IN SHABA EVENTS; IT IS INCREDIBLE TO ASK ME TO BELIEVE CIA DOES NOT KNOW WHERE FNLA AND UNITA GET THEIR SUPPORT."

6. AS FOR CUBAN/SOVIET COMPLICITY IN ATTACKS ON ZAIRE LAUNCHED FROM ANGOLA, NYERERE SAID HE RAISED ISSUE WHEN CASTRO VISITED DAR ES SALAAM LAST YEAR. ACCORDING TO NYERERE, CASTRO SAID HE

COULD UNDERSTAND NETO'S NEED TO RETALIATE AGAINST MOBUTU'S MACHINATIONS IN ANGOLA, BUT THAT HE (CASTRO) WOULD NOT GET INVOLVED IN SUCH TROUBLE BETWEEN TWO AFRICAN COUNTRIES. ONLY EVIDENCE MOBUTU PRESENTS OF CUBAN/SOVIET INVOLVEMENT, NYERERE CONTINUED, IS WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF SHABA REBELS, BUT "NONE AT ALL THAT CUBANS OR SOVIETS WANT TO HELP ANGOLA OVERTHROW MOBUTU".

7. CONTINUING THIS THEME, NYERERE SAID THE IDEA THAT THE SOVIETS WANT TO TAKE OVER AFRICA IS "BEING EXAGGERATED". "WHERE ARE THEY EXCEPT IN ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA, AND YOUR GOVERNMENT KNOWS THE AFRICAN REASONS WHY THEY ARE THERE." HE THEN SAID HE WANTED TO STATE "HOW VERY PLEASED I WAS THAT THE WEST UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE US SHOWED PUBLICLY THAT IT

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UNDERSTOOD THE AFRICAN REALITIES OF THE OGADEN CONFLICT."

8. WHAT, THEN, IS BEHIND THE WEST'S WISH TO CONSULT WITH AFRICANS ABOUT AFRICA'S SECURITY? THE ANSWER, NYERERE SAID, IS TO BE FOUND BY ASKING: "WHICH AFRICA?" "WHO ARE THESE PARIS AFRICANS OTHER THAN THOSE WHO HAVE FRENCH TROOPS OR OTHER FRENCH MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS TO SAVE THEM?" IF THE WEST WERE SINCERE ABOUT CONSULTING AFRICA ABOUT AFRICAN SECURITY, NYERERE SAID, IT WOULD NOT HOLD MEETINGS WITH SOME AFRICANS IN PARIS WHEN IT KNOWS OAU SUMMIT IS JUST A MONTH AWAY. "IF YOU WANT TO CONSULT, WE WILL BE IN KHARTOUM, NOT PARIS." (NOTE: WHEN I MENTIONED I WANTED TO REPORT ACCURATELY WHAT HE SAID AND MEANT TO SAY ABOUT KHARTOUM, NYERERE SMILED AND SAID, "I'M JUST COMMENTING ON PARIS, NOT PROPOSING YOU COME TO KHARTOUM. IF YOU THINK IT IS A GOOD IDEA, FIND OUT YOURSELVES HOW MANY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WOULD SUPPORT YOUR GOING THERE.")

9. THE REST OF THE MEETING -- FULLY HALF OF THE TOTAL FORTY MINUTES -- WAS TAKEN UP ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY NYERERE'S VISIBLY BITTER AND EMOTIONAL ATTACKS ON THE FRENCH AND HOW US SHOULD AVOID BEING SUCKED UNDER BY THEM IN AFRICA "THE WAY YOU WERE IN VIETNAM." "GISCARD", NYERERE SAID, "IS NOT INTERESTED IN OUR FREEDOM, BUT OUR MINERALS." AFRICA, HE CONTINUED, IS ALREADY SELLING ITS RESOURCES TO THE WEST -- "EVEN ANGOLA SELLS YOU ITS OIL" -- AND THERE IS A GROWING COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPE. "WHY DOES GISCARD INSIST THAT SUCH A SOUND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BE OVERLAID WITH A CORRUPT ONE?" "THE FRENCH", NYERERE SAID, "ARE THE MOST CONTEMPTIBLE OF POWERS IN AFRICA, AND I AM ALARMED BY THE IDEA THAT A CONFERENCE ABOUT AFRICA'S FUTURE WILL BE HELD IN PARIS, AND THAT THE US IS JOINING THAT CONFERENCE. IT ALARMS AND SADDENS ME. IT IS A SECOND BERLIN CONFERENCE THAT WILL DISCUSS NOT OUR FREEDOM BUT WESTERN EUROPE'S CONTINUED DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA, AND

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PRESIDENT CARTER IS GOING TO BE A PARTY TO IT."

10. NYERERE ENDED ON THE THEME OF PERSONAL APPEAL "TO PRESIDENT CARTER, TO WHOM I WANTED TO EXPRESS THIS ALARM." "I AM EXPRESSING THIS BECAUSE OF MY RESPECT FOR CARTER -- I WOULD NOT DO IT UNDER NIXON, BECAUSE I WOULD BE WASTING MY TIME. BUT CARTER MIGHT SEE SOME VALUE IN WHAT I AM SAYING. CARTER WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY ON THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE OWES IT TO THAT HISTORY TO TAKE A POSITION AGAINST THE CORRUPT RELATIONSHIPS IN AFRICA THAT THE FRENCH AND OTHERS WANT."

11. COMMENT: MY FIRST OBSERVATION IS TO EXPRESS GREAT THANKS TO THE DEPARTMENT FOR GETTING TO ME BEFORE I LEFT DAR EARLY THIS MORNING PRECISELY THE INFORMATION I NEEDED AND DID NOT YET HAVE. IT GOT THE NYERERE MEETING OFF TO THE RIGHT START. AS FOR THE MEETING ITSELF, NYAKYI TELLS ME THAT HE KNOWS OF NO PLANS FOR NYERERE TO SEE ANY OTHER LOCAL WESTERN ENVOYS ON THIS ISSUE NOW. ON THE ONE HAND, THAT IS A SKILLFUL DIPLOMATIC MANEUVER. ON THE OTHER, IT IS CONSISTENT WITH A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP THAT NYERERE FEELS HE HAS HAD WITH PRESIDENT CARTER SINCE LAST AUGUST'S VISIT -- A RELATIONSHIP WHICH HE HAS FELT WAS BOTH BENEFICIAL FOR THIS PART OF AFRICA AND PERSONALLY SATISFYING. I THINK HE REALLY IS, AS HE SAYS, SAD IF THAT IS ALL COMING TO AN END, AS RECENT EVENTS APPARENTLY LEAD HIM TO SUSPECT.

12. NYERERE IN TODAY'S MEETING DISPLAYED TRACES OF SOME CURIOUS NAIVETE ABOUT WHAT THE CUBANS HAVE BEEN UP TO IN ANGOLA, AND MAYBE WE SHOULD GIVE SOME THOUGHT TO SHARING WITH HIM ON AN INTIMATE BASIS WHATEVER HARD EVIDENCE WE HAVE OF CUBAN COMPLI-
CITY IN RECENT SHABA EVENTS. AMBASSADOR SPAIN, WHO IS DUE BACK IN DAR 3 JUNE, WILL HAVE SOME THOUGHTS ON THAT. IF WE DID SO, IT SHOULD OCCUR WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A REASSURANCE THAT WE ARE NOT ABANDONING OUR CONCEPTION OF AFRICAN PROBLEMS AS ONES WITH COMPLEX ROOTS IN AFRICA AND WORTHY OF OUR CONTINUED EFFORTS TOWARD PEACEFUL RESOLUTION IN NON-GREAT POWER TERMS. SECRETARY
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VANCE'S REMARKS ALONG THESE LINES IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE (WHOSE TRANSCRIPT NYERERE SAID HE WOULD READ LATER TODAY) IS A GOOD BEGINNING. WE WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO MORE IN THE RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER, WHICH I WAS TOLD TODAY PROBABLY WOULD BE FORTHCOMING TOMORROW. END COMMENT.
WALKER

UNQUOTE VANCE

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